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The wearing of scapularies, amulets, etc., blessed at Roman Catholic shrines, would seem to have given the idea added sanction during the Spanish regime, and the anting-anting of today has words of sacred significance and figures of the Virgin or crucifix (frequently drawn in rude style in ink on a ragged breastplate of cheap cotton cloth), besides meaningless words and figures of beasts which date back to pre-Catholic days..."[155]

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A carabao had been killed the day the Babaylanes arrived in Siaton because it had gored a man. When this meat was offered to them they refused, explaining they did not eat meat on Wednesday, probably a reinterpretation of the Catholic custom. The next morning, without disturbing the residents, the Babaylanes left for Dumaguete. News of their movement toward the city threw the people in Zamboanguita, Dauin, and Bacong into confusion. Messengers were sent from Zamboanguita to Dumaguete notifying the officials of the Babaylanes pending attack and requesting troops for the protection of the community.

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Fifty armed tiradoras (sharpshooters) were sent from Dumaguete. They met the Babaylanes at Barrio Bulak (Bacong) and "herded them like sheep until they arrived at the school building in poblacion Bacong." The Babaylanes were kept in the building all night. Gadiane does not report what fate befell this group, although he mentions negotiations were carried out with the new governor of Negros Oriental "for this was already the time of the revolution."

[155] LeRoy, The Americans in the Philippines, II, pp. 214-5, footnote No. 1.

Finally two young boys and a girl are selected from 241
the group and their mouths are stuffed with roasted rice. 788
The person who puts the rice into the boys' mouths repeats: "Pokpok bata" and for the girl "Pokpok baye." Pokpok means "plenty" or "full" while bata and baye mean "boy" and "girl" respectively. The purpose of this ceremony is to ensure a full storehouse of rice for the caingin cultivator after the next year's harvest. Now the guests eat and if there are sufficient young people present, and some who can play guitars, a dance may follow. One woman enthusiastically said that the "loto is the happiest part of the harvest season in the mountains."

It is difficult to assess the importance of the 262
food the barriofolk of Caticugan obtain through bartering with or working for caingin cultivators. Caingin gleaners probably are those whose food supply is ~~very low~~; dried cassava and camote chips are not a popular or widely eaten food in Caticugan. Dried cassava and camote chips often are eaten during the "starvation months," the period following the rice harvest, before the first corn crop is mature. Women who went to Padang during March were mothers and wives searching for food for their families during this period of food shortage. Corn and rice obtained from upland caingins are important supplementary foods for those who make the tiring hike to the mountains to harvest in steep-sloped caingins.

stumbled over while walking or plowing. This object is divided and planted in three hills that form a triangle in the middle of the field. This lihi must be done in the afternoon when stars are visible and the three hills are planted with the elbows, not the hands. The pieces of wood or stone supposedly ensure that the camotes will be as large as the object stumbled over; planting when the stars are visible "will make the camotes as plentiful as the stars in the sky." Inserting the cuttings with the elbows makes the camotes "large as one's elbows."

The custom in Caticugan is to top the camote plants for greens before the tubers are mature. Studies made at Los Baños show that topping camotes "reduces the yield of the roots so much that the combined income from roots and vines would be less than that from roots alone in the untopped plants." The account adds, however, that "topping...offers a way of getting immediate returns."[61] In Caticugan, the results of this research are unknown but the findings would probably have little effect on the topping of camote plants because "immediate returns" count most with the barriofolk.

Camotes take from four to five months to mature and become fairly plentiful in the barrio and marketplace by November and December. When boiled the camotes have a

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[61] Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, p. 446.

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greyish color and are usually very fibrous. Boiled camotes stuck on small bamboo sticks are often sold in Siaton's marketplace and small stores.

Cassava

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The so-called native cassava (balanghoy) was brought to the Philippines from Mexico during the early days of the Spanish regime. Varieties of cassava with commercial possibilities were not introduced into the Philippines until the American period. In some localities, like the Sulu archipelago, cassava is the staple food; in Siaton, however it is merely a supplementary seasonal food. The plant is cultivated by Filipinos for the tubers which store from 15 to 40 per cent starch. [146]

Only 32 acres of cassava were planted in Siaton municipality in 1951; very little was grown in Caticugan. [311] While three types of cassava are known and planted in the area--Visaya, Java and Australia--most of the cassava in Caticugan is Visaya. The Visaya variety grown in Caticugan may be Mandioca Sao Pedro Preto. The barriofolk report that Visaya cassava tastes better than the Java variety and contains more starch. Australia cassava is reported to be grown mainly in Nasi-id and Bantolinao, sitios of Caticugan. Visaya cassava takes from ten to twelve months to mature, although the barriofolk of Caticugan dig immature roots after six months. [262]

Two small patches planted solely to cassava in Caticugan were both in Naga. These patches were too

in paper and state that the exact number of hills planted during the lihi is unimportant. The cassava lihi may be done in any part of the field as long as it is practiced for the first planting. 241

If these agricultural lihis for the crops do not succeed, if the crops are infested with pests and the harvests poor, the farmers believe their tribulations are due to "the will of God" (pagbu-ot sa Dios). Failure of the lihi is not attributed to ineffectiveness of the practice, by the majority of the people. This concept of God's will is a major theme of community life in Caticugan. It is the belief that man does not fail God so much as God fails man and that man, helpless in such situations, resigns humbly and quietly to his fate. This concept of man's relation to God is the basis for much of the conservatism of the barriofolk. 241 777

Once the cassava is planted the plants receive little care. There is no weeding of cassava patches, although cassava intercropped with corn is plowed for weeds. Rats, said to be the major cassava pest, destroy the larger tubers. When the first cassava tuber is dug, a simple lihi is often practiced. The tuber is boiled with some sugar to render all roots subsequently dug from the field "sweet and nice tasting." Often cassava roots are dug before they are fully mature, especially if the family needs food; with the end of the barrio fiesta in February, cassava tubers disappear except for those which were sliced, dried and stored. 241 [262]

used to make charcoal for the women's irons. Coconut "milk" is obtained by squeezing grated meat in water and dippers and cups are carved from the hard shells. Sap from the coconut palm produces mildly alcoholic drink, tuba, that is popular throughout the Philippines. Only one man made tuba in Barrio Caticugan so the account that follows is based mainly on this informant's explanation. Tuba is considered superior to guhang by the barriofolk and costs more when purchased in the poblacion. So little tuba is made, however, that it is difficult to buy the drink at stores. The alcoholic content of tuba and guhang appears to be about the same for a given period of fermentation.

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Tuba is the drink produced from the sap collected from the bud (bulok) ~~of~~ the coconut tree. Since the bud produces the coconuts, ~~making tuba~~ reduces the yield of the tree; this is one reason why some owners did not make tuba. A coconut tree selected for tuba-making should have at least three buds. The brown mat-like material (ginit) is cleaned away from the top of the tree where the fronds radiate outward--a process called la-as. Stones are placed on the broad stems of the fronds where they grow from the trunk to push them downward to make it easier to get at the bud.

The selected bud is wrapped with rattan and the end is tied to a branch, pulling the bud downward to facilitate the flow of the sap. The tip of the bud is cut every day so the sap will continue to flow liberally. At the bud's

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when a cacao bush is passed or brushed by a menstruating woman, the fruit may rot or the flowers fall if it is not protected with these rags.

Jackfruit

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A number of jackfruit trees (So-oy: Artocarpus odoratissima Blum) grow in Caticugan. The jackfruit was brought to the Philippines from India (here known as yaca) during the Spanish period.[70] The fruit is eaten raw or boiled as a vegetable. Sometimes jackfruits are wrapped with an old mat or paper, as are squashes, to protect them from the insects; the most serious of jackfruit's pest appears to be ants.

Pineapples and Papayas

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Several small patches of native pineapple, penia, (Ananas comusos Linn.) occur in Barrio Caticugan. The plants, however, were usually given little care; the fruits were small and wormy. Some barriofolk in Caticugan had a few papaya trees (Kapaya: Carica papaya Linn.); they said that more papayas were not grown because of excessive flooding during the rainy season. This explanation, however, was largely rationalization because in many localities papayas could have been grown without risk of flooding at any time of the year. Green papayas were sometimes grated as a "salad" or fed to pigs.

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[70] Antonio de Morga, Blair and Robertson, op. cit. XVI, p. 88.

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There were only four or five coffee trees in the entire barrio. The price of coffee beans in the poblacion was high; most of the people in Caticugan, and many in the poblacion, drank "coffee" made from toasted ground cornmeal.

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There was a custom in the barrio of tying a broken pot or bottles to the cacao, gourd and papaya plants. The pots or bottles were said to make the plants produce large fruits and prevent the fruit from falling when immature. This custom was observed in Siaton poblacion, in nearly every barrio visited in southern Negros, and in Dumaguete City.

Bananas

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Not many bananas are raised in Caticugan or Siaton poblacion. The western barrios, e.g., Cabangahan and Giliga-on, produced most of the bananas sold in the stores of Siaton poblacion; often busses from the west would leave bunches of bananas in the poblacion for sale. However, there were many days when bananas could not be purchased in the marketplace or in the sari-sari stores along the National Road. The banana bud is cooked and eaten as a vegetable; this may be one reason for the scarcity of the fruit in Caticugan.

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Kapok

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In 1948 less than 5 per cent of the total Philippine production of kapok was grown in Negros Oriental. Some kapok trees, doldol (Agave cantalu Roxb.) grow in Caticugan

20: Hart E-5 (1954) 1954 OA: Philippines
Central Bisayan OA 14

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Much has been written of the average Filipino's dislike of vegetables. Hayden states:

> A number of attempts have been made to promote vegetable gardening in the barrios. The habits of a people as to what they shall grow and what they shall eat are slow to change...[72]

In Caticugan, however, the majority of the barriofolk apparently like vegetables--making allowances for individual differences. There are a host of reasons why more vegetables are not raised and eaten by rural Filipinos; the myriad pests, lack of and excess of water, and difficulties in obtaining seed. One can become unpopular in a community where goats, pigs and chickens are rarely penned by constantly complaining to the authorities of a neighbor's marauding animals! As a result many Filipinos who might raise more vegetables become discouraged and value harmonious relationships in the community above a thriving home garden.

If the women often sell more vegetables in the marketplace than their families eat this is not because they dislike vegetables. Tomatoes that bring fifty cents in the Siaton marketplace would not feed as many persons as the cornmeal or fish this money buys. It is not that the people scorn vegetables so much as it is the necessity of selling them in order to buy needed staples. Vegetables may assume a larger role in the average rural Filipino's

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[72] Hayden, op. cit., p. 660.

diet when there is no need to barter or sell them for more filling dietary necessities and when cultural factors favor vegetable production.

Though women predominate in gardening activities in Caticugan the poblacion school teaches only the boys to grow vegetables. It was an early American idea to add gardening activities to the elementary curriculum; the officials concerned did not realize that in the barrios gardening is mainly a female activity. This is probably because women, not men, are the vendors of vegetables. In fact, a man who would sell vegetables in Caticugan would be a deviant in the eyes of most of the barriofolk. One man who vended vegetables was known to all as a bayute, a name for very feminine-acting men. In southern Negros the school boys are being trained to do a girl's work in the barrios.

Kalamongay

The most commonly grown vegetable in Caticugan is kalamongay (Tag. Malungay: Moringa oleifera Linn.), a small tree-like plant that produces leafy branches. The branches are cut and stripped; the small tender leaves are cooked as greens. Kalamongay often grows so tall that small children can climb it or the top branches are cut with a small knife tied to a bamboo. When the rains come kalamongay is cut back and new cuttings planted. Sometimes ashes are spread around the base of the newly-planted

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The people say today there is "no incentive" to own horses (kabayos) due to the small herds of cattle; the horses were widely used before the war to care for the cattle.

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In Caticugan horses are normally ridden by the men and serve as a means of transportation among the barrios; I never saw them used in farming activities, harnessed to any type of vehicle, and only rarely ridden by women. Some horses are kept in corrals in Caticugan but most of them are permitted to roam the nearby hills; it is often a job to catch them when they are wanted. I once counted twenty-one horses grazing in Dangola. Horses are sometimes ridden bareback but normally a wooden saddle (siya sa kabayo) is used. The barriofolk eat horse meat when it is available. However, a horse is not killed until it is very old, injured, or sickly; then the animal is slaughtered and the meat sold. My assistant's horse looked sickly so he had it killed and the meat was sold quickly in Barrio Caticugan.

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Pigs

The scrawny pig with a bony back and uncurled tail, constantly rooting for food, is a typical barrio sight. Most families have several pigs (baboy); often one pig is the "fiesta pig" fattened during the year for this celebration. Next to beef, pork is the most prized meat. The native pig is called baboy while the few foreign strains are called Englisa. A nursing pig is called anaoy while her young are known as baktin.

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A bamboo pole against the tree enables the chickens to climb into the branches, although most of them can fly. The chickens are rarely fed by their owners and are lean and tough when eaten. Nests are usually found in the silong (space under the raised house), among the rafters, or in a corner of a room. Plate XXXI[1] shows one type of nest used in Caticugan. A large bamboo is split and the splints woven apart with rattan; dried grass is often put inside. There is a constant battle to shoo the chickens from a house, since they try to sneak into the kitchen to eat uncovered food.

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The barriofolk eat few eggs, not that they dislike eggs, but eggs bring a good price in the poblacion--five cents each in 1951. Sale of a dozen eggs enabled the vendor to purchase several gantas of cornmeal that go farther in feeding the family. Eggs not sold are normally used for settings. In the poblacion chickens sell for fifty to seventy-five cents and scores of chickens are sold each week in Dumaguete.

The Bolhon and Palihog: Cooperative Labor Groups

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The growing individualism in Caticugan life, already cited, includes agriculture. I shall describe some of the cooperative agricultural practices of the past and indicate reasons for their decline in present-day Caticugan.

During Lucas Ego's period there were two types of cooperative labor groups in Caticugan, the bolhon and

1 [See p. 432, Cat. 231 -- Analyst]

are regarded as inferior to their staples, except for fruits and mushrooms that are considered delicacies. Food gathering activities in Caticugan reflect inadequate harvests or small fields. If the fields' harvests and sizes were increased and the people less dependent on a somewhat erratically distributed precipitation, food gathering would almost entirely disappear. Under normal conditions only a minority of families regularly collect food each year; a poor corn harvest, however, increases considerably the number of collectors.

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WILD PIG HUNTING AND ASSOCIATED RITES

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Besides being the most destructive wild animal in the Siaton River valley, the wild pig is the only animal hunted by the barriofolk, save for a few wild birds and a large iguana-type lizard, ibid. There are no monkeys in Caticugan and the men do not purposely hunt them, although they eat the meat if available. In the past wild deer were hunted near Caticugan with the bow and arrow, but both the deer and the bow and arrow have vanished. Many men hunt wild pigs with homemade spears. It is said in Caticugan that no one has ever owned a gun.

Wild pigs occur in the hills and mountains west and north of Caticugan. One young man killed twelve large pigs, "not counting the little ones," within several months; another man in Barrio Canaway killed twenty-three pigs in nine months. A noted hunter of Naga was said to have killed as many as fifty wild pigs in a year. Though the meat of the wild pig is stringy and tough, it is a not

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seared the hair from the pig, butchered and cleaned it. As he removed the hair from the pig he said softly: "Thanks [speaking to the spirits] for this boar. I hope the next time we hunt we can get a bigger one and it will not be so difficult to kill." He let the dogs drink some of the pig's blood from his cupped hands and eat pieces of the intestines for them to eat. Hunting dogs usually get the pig's intestines as their share. Some hunters, however, said "if you really like the intestines you keep some for yourself."[7]

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Hunting wild pigs by Caticugan men does not furnish most families with sizable quantities of meat. Only twice during my residence did I see slaughtered wild pigs in barrio kitchens. Frequently I was invited to eat with the barriofolk yet I was never served wild pig. There are a few men who do spend considerable time during the dry season hunting wild pigs; for the majority, however, hunting wild pigs is only an occasional activity. It is my opinion that a few men (perhaps one in Caticugan) specialize in hunting wild pigs, selling or bartering the meat for staples. The young men usually hunt for the enjoyment they receive from the chase.

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[7]Oracion's account of wild pig hunting among the Magahats does not mention any ceremony similar to the hood. However, when a pig is killed its liver is removed on the spot, chopped into small pieces and scattered on the ground. "This is his offering to the spirits." Oracion, on. cit., p. 67.

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FOWLING

Only a few barriofolk in Caticugan practice fowling. The birds caught are minor food items. One fairly common method of trapping the galanggiyang (Philippine Glossy Starling: Apolonis panayensis (Scop.)) is to place a large bamboo in a tree. Small openings are cut into each section so the birds will build nests inside. When the young starlings are ready to fly they are taken from the nest, plucked, gutted, salted, and soaked in tuba vinegar. I visited a family in Talo-ot when they were having Sunday meal of about twenty two-week old starlings that had been roasted over coals. I saw about four or five such bamboo nest-traps in Caticugan. (See Plate XXXIII.)[1]

A number of other wild birds are trapped and eaten. The most common are the bontog (both the Barred Button Quail: Turnix suscitator nigrescens (Tweed); and Painted Quail, pitao, Coturnix chinensis lineata (Scop.)); ponay (Pink-necked Green Pigeon: Treron vernans vernans (Linne.)); and the tokmo (Philippine Turtle Dove: Streptopelia bitorquata dusumieri (Temm.)).[8]

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[8]Identification of these birds was made through the use of Jean Delacour and Ernst Mayr, Birds of the Philippines, Macmillan, New York, 1946, and by consultation with Professor Dioscoro S. Rabor, a noted ornithologist of Silliman University, and one especially well-informed on the birds of Negros. Other birds trapped are dalag-dalag or antolihao (Black-naped Oriole: Oriolus chinensis suluensis Sharpe); tibalas (Brown Shrike: Lanius cristatus lucionensis Linn.); tangol-ol (Yellow-vented Bulbul: Pycnonotus goiavier goiavier (Scop.)); manatad (Green-winged Ground Dove: Chalcophaps indica indica (Linne.);[2]

1 [See p. 516, cat 223 or 116 -- Analyst]

2 [Footnote 8 continued on p. 517, cat. 223 or 116 -- Analyst]

Guavas ripen in August and September. Rarely, the barrio-folk make guava dulce which is pulverized guava pulp, boiled in a frying pan filled with water until tender. The cooked pulp is eaten mixed with brown sugar. 222 252

The small round fruit of the ano-on tree is eaten usually in April. The fruit is red when mature, it is often gathered by the children although the tree is not abundant in the vicinity of Caticugan. Fruit of the kamansilis (Pithecolobium dulce (Roxb.) Benth) is also gathered and eaten, particularly by the children. Many kamansilis trees grow in Caticugan, especially along the Siaton River bank. The fruit is small and flat and only the inner pulp is eaten. The bark of this tree is used also in tanning.

Some small wild mangoes are gathered in August and September. The domesticated mango is quite popular in Siaton and the demand always exceeds supply. People who have large mango trees often send boxes of the fruit to Dumaguete where they bring a higher price than in Siaton poblacion. Sometimes low fires are built under the mango trees to force early production of fruit. [433] [438]

PALM FLOUR

A coarse flour can be made from the saksak, ediok and buri palms. This flour is an "emergency food" in Caticugan but some people in northern communities, like Dolog, use flour made from the saksak rather frequently before the first corn harvest. During the last war the 262 252

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barriofolk utilized these palms for flour; but during my residence no one was observed making palm flour. In Caticugan the buri is used for guhang production and there are only a few sdiok and saksak palms. The time needed to make the flour discourages most barriofolk.

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The process of making flour is almost identical for the three palms. The trunk of the palm is cut into sections about 3 feet long. For the buri, leaves that have a whitish tinge along the outer edges of the stem are regarded as a sign that the tree has abundant inner pulp. Some state that the cutting and pounding of the pulp to make flour must be done in silence, "even if you have companions"; otherwise the powder will not separate when put into the container of water.

The outer bark of the palm is peeled and the inner pulp cut into sections and dried for several days. However, some state that a bamboo pick (sagongsong) or a pestle may be used to reduce the inner pith to a pulp. It is possible to store the dried sections of the palm for future use.

When one wishes to make flour the pounded pith or cut sections are soaked in water for several hours until the powder sinks to the bottom of the container. A crude container may be made from the bark of the palm, called solo. Some squeeze the moist pith over an abaca strainer while others pour water on the pith. The mixed water and pulp is called onao. After the powder has settled, the water is poured off. The flour is used to make pancakes

(kinogay), cooked in green bamboo tubes, or prepared in the sinakol manner (steam cooked), often mixed with tiktik or binlod (finely ground cornmeal). Sometimes the people from the northern barrios in the Siaton River valley come to Caticugan to barter this type of flour for corn and rice. This was not done, to my knowledge, during this field research.

Hunting and food gathering activities are related to the inadequate food supply of the barriofolk. The wild pig is not a serious agricultural problem in Caticugan and the meat is admittedly inferior to that of the domesticated pig. Most wild plants are considered as "emergency foods" to be gathered and eaten only when staples are low; i.e., when the corn and rice from the last harvest are low and new crops are not ready to harvest. For barriofolk during this period the foods collected may be important; however, this is true only of a minority in Caticugan unless there is a poor harvest or crop failure.

If the cultivated food supply were adequate all year long, hunting and, particularly, food gathering, probably would cease. Young men might continue to hunt wild pigs for sport and some wild foods would, most likely, be gathered (the "delicacies" such as mushrooms, lumboy, etc.). The role hunting and food gathering play in the daily life of the barriofolk of Caticugan today is a reflection of seasonal inadequacy of food supply and low living standards.

The barriofolk said that people living in the northern 526
barrios sometimes came to Catiougan to barter bolot for 438
corn. The corms are diced, boiled in coconut "milk" and 252
then salted or sugared to taste.

Kobong (Tag: nami; Dioscorea hispida Dennst.), a 222
native yam, is also gathered. Like igad, kobong tubers 252
must be carefully processed before consumption. Encarnacion states that if kobong corms are eaten without proper preparation they may produce death; the corms contain a poisonous alkaloid called dioscorine.[13] Kobong are sliced into thin chips and dried for several days. Then they are put in water, usually in a creek, on mats weighted with stones. Each morning, for several days, "one must stir the still water so the powder soaked off will float away." Then the chips are squeezed and put under the sun. This process removes the dioscorine and most of the sugar and starch leaving mainly the fiber. When thoroughly dried, kobong chips are pounded into a coarse flour that is used to make porridge or stored. One should not dig kobong when the wind moves the vine, according to some informants, because if one does and later eats the tubers dizziness results.

No wild seeds of any sort are gathered, or were in 222
the past, by the barriofolk of Catiougan. They do not 262
gather many wild vegetables, except for these corms. Some collect wild tangkong or halum (often in the flooded

[13] Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 398-401.

paddies) and a few use the leaves of the dapdap (Erythrina variegata L. var. orientalis (L.) Merr.) tree as greens. Sometimes the blossoms of wild bananas are gathered, boiled, and eaten. 222 262

MUSHROOMS

Wild mushrooms, though not very plentiful, are gathered by the barriofolk. Most people are fond of mushrooms, and consider them a delicacy. Individuals rarely make special searches for mushrooms; they watch for them when traveling in the mountains. Mushrooms are usually collected during the rainy season; they are found growing in bamboo groves, on dead logs, rotting banana or abaca stalks (often in saingins) and other shady places.[14] 222

Eleven different types of edible mushrooms (obong) are gathered by the barriofolk: amamakol, libsos, kolmidop, lavai, saha-an, kotmara, obong (a poisonous type is also known by the same name), talopo, tangogtangog, lavalava and songadsongad. The most common varieties that grow near Caticugan

[14] Few cases of fatal mushroom poisoning occur in the Philippines since the poisonous species rarely grow in the lowlands; they thrive best in cool places in the mountains. "It is a common belief in the Philippines that thunder and lightning have something to do with the spontaneous appearance of mushrooms. When thunder begins to rumble, especially during May or early June, at the start of the rainy season, young and old in rural communities rush out to the open fields and meadows to search for mushrooms." The general name for edible mushrooms in Tagalog is kabute, in Negros and Panay, obong, and Leyte ulaping. Jose M. Mendoza, "Philippine Mushrooms," The Philippines Journal of Science, LIV, Nos. 1-2, (January-February, 1938), pp. 13-15. My collection of mushrooms for identification spoiled: for this reason the English or scientific names are not given. Mendoza's study did not list the Cebuano names for these mushrooms. [81] [146]

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Snails are gathered all year except when the river is flooded and too swift to collect them. Even during the rainy season, the snails are collected between floods. Another factor that discourages people from gathering snails during the rainy season is the appearance in the river of the poisonous golden-colored fish, lupo. When stepped on, this fish inflicts a painful wound.

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Both sexes gather snails in the river, although it is done mostly by women and young children. As one female informant explained: "Women are easier to group together than men and in the evening the men like to drink guhang." Snails are collected in the day or at night by moonlight or a flashlight.

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Kapia, Ungka and Bong-Bong are usually found on top of stones at night or under them during the day. The people explain that at night the snails come from under the stones to feed. Soso and Tibo-Tibo normally occur on the sandy river bottom. When snails are gathered during the day stones are turned over along the river edge where the water is shallow. The people wear a small bamboo container or carry a can in which to put the snails.

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Snails are boiled, sometimes with vegetables, to make soup (sabao). The meat is then extracted from the shell and eaten. Most houses have a nearby kitchen midden of discarded snail and clam shells.

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To make lime (apog) for betel nut chewing, snail shells are put in a half section of dry bamboo that is

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placed on dry palm leaves. The other half of the bamboo, the "lid," is fitted on top and covered with more leaves. Then the leaves are fired. When the fire burns out, the burnt shells are carefully picked up lest they shatter and are put in a container of water. The water is then thoroughly stirred; after the lime has settled, the water is poured off. Some wash the burnt shells after firing and crush them without soaking in water. A bamboo container for carrying lime for betel nut chewing is called sugong; a container carved from carabao horn is called luka.

Marine Snails and Clams

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Table XXVIII, Varieties of Marine Clams and Snails Gathered in Siaton, presents pertinent data regarding local names, scientific identification and frequency of catch of marine snails and clams. (See Pages 636 - 637.) These mollusks, a fairly frequent part of the diet of barriofolk, give both variety and flavor to their daily fare. Like the fresh-water snails, they may be boiled to make a weak soup, eaten as meat, or cooked with vegetables. In the northern barrios marine mollusks are rarely eaten owing to the distance from the sea. Whereas a few people gather marine mollusks all the year, the southwest monsoon's arrival makes it difficult for the sea becomes rough. Like the fres-water mollusks, the marine snails and clams are collected mainly during the dry season.

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task with getting nipa leaves. The largest clam found in these areas is the Toway; one pokes a bolo (brought to cut nipa leaves) or a stick into a soft mount or bubbling hole in the damp sand of the swamp to get Toways. Four types of snails that are found in nipa swamps are: Dalodalo, Hagonipa, Libodbod, and Taboysoy (the latter clings to the palm trunks and leaves).

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Two types of seaweed are gathered and eaten by the barriofolk: a green moss, lumot, and a brownish moss, lagot. Lagot is put in hot water, then drained and garlic, salt, and vinegar added. These two seaweeds are gathered during the dry season along the beach. When the rainy season begins the mosses "become slippery and are not good to eat." Only a few families in Caticugan were observed eating these mosses.

METHODS OF OBTAINING RIVER FISH

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[262]
[435]
[433]

A large share of the fish eaten locally is caught in the Siaton River. Many families eat more river fish than sea fish. They either lack money to buy sea fish or there may be none for sale in the marketplace.

Table XXIX[1] lists local names, and in most cases, scientific identification, of types of fish caught in the Siaton River.

River fish are caught in eight different ways: (1) with nets (ta-an and tangkop); (2) with bamboo-rattan traps (asag, balantak and bobo); (3) with fish poisons; (4) by the galobog method; (5) by a process called

1 [See p. 540, cat. 226 or 116 -- Analyst]

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sure that no such observations have been made previously regarding this species. Such a migration readily explains the presence of the Talaud specimens in a marine habitat.

Dr. Chace wrote concerning the Tolo crab:

> This species has been recorded in the literature from Celebes, Flores, Ceram, northern Sumatra, and the Andamans. There are specimens in our collection from Uki Island in the Dutch East Indies and the Baganga River, Mindanao. I do not believe that this species has been recorded in the literature from the Philippines.[30]

Shrimp

The reddish-black Analsalon is the smallest of the four types of shrimp in the river and creeks. The blackish Mazus has an indistinct white stripe on its back; the female is said to have no pincers. The Naturale, a whitish-grey shrimp, is not found as frequently as other types in Caticugan Creek. Shrimp are frequently boiled with vegetables to give a better flavor.

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The shrimp caught are small, from one to three inches. However, during the rainy season in the river and creeks near Caticugan shrimp are caught from four to six inches long. The people say these bigger shrimp are washed down from the upper reaches of the Siaton River and its tributaries by the swift currents of the rainy season. I have seen shrimp from eight to nine inches long that had been caught in creeks near Balanan.

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[30] Personal communications to the writer from Dr. Fenner A. Chace, Jr., April 15 and November 6, 1952.

say Lavagay that escape will not return to the sea for seven years. 226

The Tolo crab is usually found around rocks in shallow water; more live in the river than in Caticugan Creek. They are caught in the balantak, ta-an and asag along with the Hipon, shrimp and fish. 226 136

The Alimango is a large crab, growing to the size of a small coconut, that lives in nipa and mangrove swamps or in the tidal reaches of the river. They are caught by digging them from their holes in the sand or mud. Another method is to put a fish trap baited with chicken guts or fish in the swamp. One man living in Baybay caught eight good-sized Alimangos in two days with such a baited trap.

River fish, shrimp and crabs form a considerable part of the aquatic food. Caticugan barriofolk eat more aquatic food from the river and creek than from the sea. As one travels to barrios farther from the sea, the importance of the sea as a source of food diminishes. The sea food eaten in Casala-an, for example, consists mainly of dried fish or canned sardines bought in the poblacion. Caticugan people do not prefer river to marine aquatic food; they often lack money to buy sea fish in the marketplace. During the rainy season the supply is often inadequate for the demand, whereas prices are higher. Although the people of Caticugan live only a mile from the sea they lack the necessary equipment to 226 262 433 435

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one in the barrio owned a boat. One man had a partnership with a resident of a seaside barrio; the former made the bobo, the latter furnished the boat and they shared the catch equally. This was the only such partnership discovered in Caticugan.

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The barriofolk of Caticugan depend largely on products of the creek and river for their proteins. Data of diet indicate that pelagic products are not common in the daily diet. The small fish, eels, shrimp, crabs and snails obtained from the creek and river compose the bulk of aquatic foods eaten in Caticugan. The importance of this source of food for rural Filipinos has been overlooked almost entirely.[75]

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As with agricultural and food-gathering activities, pre-Hispanic animism appears in aquatic techniques. The ceremonies related to the construction of boats, fish corrals and the rituals connected with the installation of these devices, reflect deep-rooted beliefs in unseen spirits who are the titular owners of sea products. While some poblacion residents who finance fish corrals are sceptical of these concepts, they usually are tolerant of their workers' attitudes. Perhaps these more sophisticated individuals, not thoroughly convinced of the falsity of these beliefs, take the attitude that "most superstitious practices do no harm and may do some good," a Cebuano saying. These attitudes and customs associated with securing

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[75] The Rivera-McMillan report includes several pages of "typical menus of rural households" (Appendix C) that make no mention of fresh-water shrimp or snails. However, one picture is included (p. 162) that shows a small family eating "rice, small shrimp, and snail for supper." The lack of this information in the typical menus may be due to the barriofolk's hesitation to admit eating snails. Rivera-McMillan, op. cit., pp. 212-3.

TABLE XXXV (Continued)

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Name of Fish	Frequency of Catch	Class
Balantiog	Almost Never	C
Balawis	"	C-D
Indangan	"	D
Kugtong	"	C-D
Kume	"	E
Lombalomba	"	E
Lumod	"	E
Malasugi	"	B-C
Liplipan	"	B-C
Tamban	"	D-E
Tuloy	"	C-D

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[99]Only names for regular-size fish are given under this column.

[100]Code is: A (first class); B (Second class); C (third class); D (fourth class); and E (fifth class, usually not eaten when caught.) First class fish are those having white meat and skins, golden stripes, are non-odorous, and have a "good taste." As would be expected, tastes vary so only the general consensus is given in this column.

[101]Only one informant was familiar with this fish, Bogkanon.

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[102]Before the arrival of a school-teacher from Siquijor, few people in Siaton poblacion ate the Salanga. One day a large Salanga was caught and the teacher bought the fish for a small price. He dried the meat and sent chunks to his friends. Today a number of people in the poblacion eat the Salanga that is said to taste "like carabao meat." Salanga is considered somewhat of a delicacy by many people living in Siquijor.